

Internationalism
and
Nationalism

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Price 25¢

Distributed By:
Committee For A Democratic Far Eastern Policy
80 East 11th Street
New York 3, N.Y.

INTERNATIONALISM AND NATIONALISM

By

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The RESOLUTION CONCERNING the Communist Party of Yugoslavia adopted by the the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties condemned the anti-Soviet position of the treacherous Tito nationalist clique.

The resolution pointed out that this anti-Soviet position of the Tito clique proceeds from the nationalist program of the bourgeoisie. The resolution states: "Such a nationalist line can only lead to Yugoslavia's degeneration into an ordinary bourgeois republic, to the loss of its independence, and to its transformation into a colony of the imperialist countries."

The resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Yugoslav Party also pointed out that the Tito-ites had fallen into the mire of bourgeois nationalism. At the same time, our Central Committee stressed that by passing this resolution the Information Bureau was "fulfilling its obligations to the cause of preserving world peace and democracy, and defending the people of Yugoslavia from the deception and aggression of American imperialism."

What, then, is bourgeois nationalism? What is the attitude of Marxism-Leninism to the national question? Why is it that the anti-Soviet position of the Tito clique may make Yugoslavia a prey to the aggression of American imperialism, and forfeit Yugoslavia's independence, transforming her into a colony of imperialism?

It is the purpose of this article to clarify these questions; in this process, it will be necessary to deal with some of the basic problems of the present-day international situation.

The Bourgeois-Nationalist Position on the Question of the Nation

The national question is closely linked with the question of classes - and the national struggle, with the class struggle. "In different periods," Comrade Stalin has stated, "different classes appear on the arena of struggle, and each class has its own conception of the national question." For this reason, "the national question in different periods serves different interests, assumes different aspects, depending upon which class poses this question and in what period."

In order to understand the nature of bourgeois nationalism, one must first understand the nature of the bourgeoisie as a class.

The bourgeois-nationalist position on the question of the nation, its approach to the national question and its program and policy on the national question, flow from the class nature of the bourgeoisie, which is motivated solely by its own narrow class interests.

It is common knowledge that the bourgeois system is based on capitalist exploitation. The bourgeois class itself is divided into several different strata, and each of these into several groups. In their pursuit of profits, the capitalists not only unscrupulously exploit the proletariat, but even within their own class the capitalists swallow up their rivals in the process of cut-throat competition, the big fish swallowing the little fish; the big bourgeoisie swallows the petty and middle bourgeoisie, one group squeezing out and swallowing another group.

The bourgeoisie strives to possess the means of production and the market of its own country. And since there is no limit to its appetite for profits, the bourgeoisie strives to expand beyond its own country, to seize foreign markets, sources of raw materials, and areas for capital investment. While subjugating other countries and exploiting other peoples in this process of expansion, it squeezes out the rival capitalists of those countries at the same time.

The exploitation of wage labor, competition, the squeezing out, suppressing and swallowing of rivals, resorting to war, utilizing all means to secure a monopoly position in its own country and throughout the world - such is the class nature of the profit-greedy bourgeoisie. This is the root of bourgeois nationalism and of all bourgeois ideologies.

Conforming to this class basis, the domestic bourgeois-nationalist program and policy subordinates the interests of the nation as a whole to its own class interests. The bourgeoisie places its class interests, the interests of the small top stratum of society, above the interests of the whole people. Moreover, it tries to monopolize in its own interests the very concept of the nation, posing (in order to deceive the people) as the spokesman of the nation and defender of the national interests. At the same time, the bourgeoisie, in its foreign program and policy, aims at counter-posing the interests of its own nation (in essence, its bourgeois top stratum) to the interests of other nations. The bourgeoisie strives to place its own country above other countries and utilizes every means to oppress and exploit other peoples, completely disregarding their interests. It uses part of the loot gathered abroad to bribe certain groups of the population within its country in order to divide and weaken the resistance of the people in its homeland.

The most vicious manifestations of bourgeois nationalism include the enslavement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries by the imperialist powers, the First World War, the aggression of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese warlords which led to World War II, and, lastly, the scheme for the enslavement of the whole world by the international imperialist camp, headed by American imperialism.

When a given nation is held in subjection by another nation or is oppressed by feudalism, the bourgeoisie of that nation opposes this oppression for the sake of its class interests, and may, under certain conditions, join with the people in the struggle against the oppressors.

We may cite instances of this kind: the American bourgeoisie in the War for Independence; the French bourgeoisie at the time of the French Revolution; the Italian bourgeoisie during the movement for the unification of Italy. At the present time, the bourgeoisie in the colonial and semi-colonial countries takes part in national revolutions. But as soon as the bourgeoisie of any nation obtains power and becomes capable of subjugating other nations, it radically changes its policy and begins to oppress them. This was the case with the nationalist movements of the bourgeoisie in Great Britain, France, Germany, the United States, Italy and Japan. In these cases, the bourgeoisie, upon gaining power, changed its position and began to oppress other nations, disregarding the interests of those nations.

When capitalism reaches the stage of imperialism, the ruling top group in the capitalist countries becomes numerically smaller. The small clique of big bankers and finance magnates, on the one hand, treats its own country as its own financial domain, cruelly exploiting and oppressing the people; and on the other hand, resorting to the most brutal means of exploitation and oppression, it

enslaves other nations, converting them into colonies and dependencies of a few financial empires in the imperialist metropolis. The greater the wealth amassed by the predatory bourgeoisie, the greater becomes its greed and desire to absorb and seize new wealth, the more it intensifies its oppression of the people within its own country and aggression against other nations. All this comes under the cloak of nationalism which demagogically exalts its own nation as a "superior race" endowed with the right to dominate other nations and to suppress the "inferior races."

With several imperialist powers seeking to plunder the weaker nations of the world, the result is imperialist wars for the redistribution of the colonies. And these crimes, the most monstrous in world history, are committed by the bourgeoisie under the banner of "nationalism."

As we have shown, the bourgeoisie of different countries, upon gaining power, does not hesitate to pursue a policy of aggression against other nations. But under certain conditions, bourgeois nationalist sell out their own nation and help foreign imperialists, in order to crush the people in their own land. They sacrifice their own people for the sake of safeguarding their possessions and preserving their political power. Such may be the case when the sovereignty of their own country is suppressed by the mighty pressure of foreign imperialism or when the interests of the bourgeoisie as a class or of a certain upper stratum of this class come into sharp conflict with the basic interests of the people in their own country. The bourgeoisie will also betray its nation when the people rise in defense of their interests and threaten the power of the bourgeoisie, or when foreign imperialists intimidate or bribe the bourgeoisie of a weaker nation.

Among well-known historical instances of this kind we may cite the case of the representative of the French bourgeoisie, Thiers, who betrayed France to Germany at the time of the Paris Commune. More recent examples are the betrayals by the Chinese big bourgeois Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei, Daladier and Petain in France, Pilsudski and Beck in Poland, and Quisling in Norway. Furthermore, since the end of World War II, owing to the critical condition of capitalism, the reactionaries of Great Britain, France, Italy, and other European countries are bowing even more readily to American imperialism and act as its stooges.

Only when it is to its own advantage does the bourgeoisie use the banner of nationalism to arouse the people. But when it is against its interests, the bourgeoisie completely discards the sentiment of national pride and turns traitor to the nation.

Such is the bourgeois concept of the nation and the class base in which it is rooted. These are the main principles and basic program of bourgeois nationalism.

The Proletarian-Internationalist Position on the Question of the Nation

The proletarian-internationalist position on the question of the nation is in fundamental opposition to that of bourgeois nationalism. The proletarian-internationalist approach to the national question and its principles for dealing with the national question throughout the world flow from the basic interests of the masses of the given nation, and from the common interests of the masses of the people of every nation, which are the common interests of all mankind. National aggression is a product of the system of class exploitation. The proletariat, since it exploits no one and fights for a social system which precludes the exploitation of man by man, is opposed to any oppression of one nation by another. The proletariat cannot favor any system of oppression of man

by man in society; otherwise it could not achieve its own emancipation.

For this reason, the proletariat opposes any kind of national oppression. It staunchly fights both against the oppression of its own nation by any other nation and against its own nation oppressing another. It favors complete equality and freedom of association for all nations (big or small, strong or weak) both within a given country and on a world scale. The proletariat favors the idea of a gradual movement toward world unity through different concrete paths: of voluntary separation (in pursuance of its aim to smash imperialist oppression and do away with the dependent status of the vast majority of the world's nations); or of voluntary federation (with various nationalities uniting on a completely voluntary basis after imperialist oppression has been eliminated).

This is the proletarian, the internationalist position on the national question and the class basis from which it flows. Such are the main principles and basic program of proletarian internationalism on the national question.

Communist Party members in all the oppressed nations have always constituted the staunchest vanguard fighters leading the national liberation movements of the oppressed nations against imperialism. For example, we Chinese Communists are thorough proletarian internationalists and are, at the same time, the staunchest revolutionary patriots and national revolutionary fighters opposing all imperialist aggression against the Chinese nation, defending China's freedom and independence and opposing all national traitors.

In China, the first to raise a clearcut program of opposition to imperialism and for national independence was not the party of the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeoisie, but was the party of the Chinese proletariat. Our Communist Party of China has always been the leader and organizer of the united anti-imperialist national front of the Chinese people. This is a broad united national front including workers, peasants, intellectuals, the petty-bourgeoisie and other progressive elements. This kind of revolutionary national liberation movement is not in contradiction to proletarian internationalism. The two are entirely consistent with each other, constituting an extremely important organic part of the movement of proletarian internationalism, constituting its broad direct ally. The victory of this national liberation movement is a great step forward along the path of proletarian internationalism, giving great help and impetus to the socialist revolution of the proletariat throughout the world.

Therefore, it is clear that if the Communists of oppressed nationalities fail to carry out concrete opposition to imperialist oppression, and to fight for national liberation, if they merely regard "internationalism" as an empty ornamental phrase - then they are betraying proletarian internationalism, and descending to the level of low and contemptible trotskyites, agents of imperialism.

Furthermore, if, after their own nation has rid itself of imperialist oppression, the Communists descend to a position of bourgeois nationalism, carrying out a policy of national self-interest and sacrificing the common international interests of the working people of all the nations of the world and of the proletariat to the interests of the upper strata of their own nation; if they not only fail to oppose imperialism but on the contrary rely on imperialist aid to carry out aggression against other nations, and oppressing them, or opposing proletarian internationalism with national conservatism, reject the international solidarity of the proletariat and the working people and oppose the Socialist Soviet Union - then all this is also a betrayal of the proletariat and of Communism, which helps the international imperialists, and makes these traitors themselves a pawn of the imperialists. The Tito group in Yugoslavia is now taking this path.

Guided by the principles summarized above, the Communists in all oppressing nations, in all imperialist countries, have always staunchly and unreservedly opposed aggression upon colonial and semi-colonial countries and the oppression of these countries by the rulers of their own nations or by an imperialist bloc. The Communists of these countries have done everything to extend unselfish aid to the national liberation movements of the colonial and semi-colonial nations. The Communists fight for the liberation of their own country from imperialist oppression and for the complete liberation and independence of all oppressed nations. As examples, we can refer to the Communists in the former Russian empire, the Communists of Great Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Belgium, etc. As staunch internationalists, they resolutely oppose the imperialists who oppress their own country and who carry on aggressive policies against India, Malaya, the Philippines, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, China, Central and South America and other colonial and semi-colonial countries. They consistently fight for the independence and freedom of all oppressed nations.

The Communists take this position because they have a profound understanding of Marx' statement that no people which oppresses other nations can itself be free. They understand that were it not for the national liberation movements, which weaken and undermine the foundations of imperialist domination, it would be extremely difficult for the proletariat of the imperialist-metropolis countries to achieve victory in the struggle against monopoly capital and to attain its emancipation. Hence, to aid the liberation movements of the colonial and semi-colonial nations is to aid the cause of the emancipation of the proletariat in the imperialist countries. Therefore, in conformity with the principles stated above, the working class, led by the Communists, upon overthrowing the imperialist bourgeoisie and gaining power, must immediately put an end to every oppression imposed by "their" imperialists upon other nationalities, whether within or without that country. Thus, as soon as the Great October Revolution in Russia had overthrown the bourgeois provisional government and placed the toilers in power, Lenin and Stalin immediately proclaimed the annulment of all the unequal treaties which the Czarist government had concluded with China and other countries, abolished the whole system of enslavement which Russian imperialism had imposed on its colonies and semi-colonies and proclaimed the complete equality of all nationalities within the country. Such is the application, in deeds, of the great principles of proletarian internationalism.

Therefore, if there are individuals in the ranks of the proletariat of oppressor nations who talk of internationalism as if it were merely an empty, high-sounding phrase or who sink to the position of bourgeois nationalism, who do not extend support to the national liberation movements of the colonies and semi-colonies, but rather help the imperialists of their own countries to suppress the colonial, semi-colonial and backward countries, they are traitors to proletarian internationalism, to the cause of Socialism and Communism, and become agents of imperialism. As examples, we have the representatives of the labor aristocracy bribed by imperialism, the Right wing of the Social-Democratic parties in various countries and the Right wing of the British Labor Party; all of these are renegades of this type who have betrayed the proletariat. On the other hand, if Communists, coming into power after imperialist domination has been overthrown in their country, do not immediately do away with the imperialist oppression of various nationalities, do not proclaim complete equality of all peoples within their country, but continue national oppression and pursue an aggressive policy toward other peoples, this too is a betrayal of proletarian internationalism, of the cause of Socialism and Communism; it means that they use the term "internationalism" only for empty, high-sounding chatter; it signifies degeneration to the position of bourgeois nationalism.

However, under certain historical conditions, oppressor countries may become oppressed countries. Thus, when Hitler invaded and conquered France, Belgium and

Holland, the Communists of those countries, in contradistinction to the bourgeois traitors, heroically fought in the forefront of the national resistance movements against the fascist aggressors.

The European countries subjugated by American imperialism by means of the Marshall Plan may serve as another example of this kind. The reactionary bourgeoisie of these countries continues to suppress the national revolutionary struggle in the colonies with the aid of American imperialism: France wages war in Indo-China, Britain in Malaya and in other countries, the Netherlands in Indonesia. The Communists of those countries must, on the one hand, offer determined resistance to American imperialism's encroachment and oppression, must fight against the capitulation of their bourgeoisie to the United States and against the betrayal of the nation by the bourgeoisie and must defend the independence of their nations; on the other hand, they must resolutely oppose the imperialist colonial policy of the bourgeois rulers of their own country and the oppression and exploitation of the colonial peoples by their bourgeoisie, and must extend all possible aid to the liberation movement of the colonial peoples against the imperialists of their own countries.

In this situation, the Right wing of the Social-Democratic parties in the European countries and of the British Labor Party continue to pursue an imperialist policy toward the colonies and support the Marshall Plan, which enslaves their own countries. The Communist parties relentlessly fight these renegades.

Such are the policies and various concrete programs which proletarian internationalism adopts on the national question in different countries and under different conditions. These programs and policies are motivated solely by the basic common interests of the masses of the people of the given country as well as by the interests of the masses of the people of all countries. In other words, they proceed from the vital common interests of all mankind and at the same time accord fully with the class interests of the proletariat.

Such is the concrete application of the viewpoint of proletarian internationalism in different concrete historical conditions.

A comparison of the bourgeois-nationalist and proletarian-internationalist positions on the question of the nation reveals that bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism constitute two antagonistic conceptions, ideologies and slogans, representing two different classes. Lenin said:

Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism - these are two irreconcilable, mutually antagonistic slogans. They conform to the two great class camps of the whole capitalist world, and manifest two different policies on the national question (and especially two different world outlooks.)

A sharp difference must be drawn between proletarian internationalism and its position on the national question, and bourgeois nationalism. A Communist who descends to a position of bourgeois nationalism is betraying Communism. Imperialism, whenever possible, wages aggression against weaker nations and oppresses them and certainly will not honestly assist other nations to win independence and liberation. It may happen that one imperialist country may help an oppressed nation to struggle against another imperialist country; however, the imperialist country does not do this for the sake of the independence and liberation of the oppressed nation - it does it, rather, to make use of the oppressed nation against its competitor, scheming to establish its own imperialist rule over the oppressed nation after its competitor has been removed.

The purpose of Hitler's plan to establish "the New Order in Europe," of the Japanese warlords' plan to establish the "co-prosperity sphere in greater East Asia" and "Sino-Japanese co-existence and co-prosperity," of American imperialism's Marshall Plan for European Recovery, "Aid for Korean Independence" and "Assistance for Philippine Independence," of Britain's "Aid for Indian and Burmese Independence"

and the like - the purpose of all these is to establish their rule over other nations, to preserve and increase their profits.

No oppressed people could obtain real liberation and independence through the so-called help of imperialist powers. No imperialist country can be expected to extend genuine help to the cause of real independence and liberation. Thus, it would be extremely erroneous and harmful to harbor illusions that American imperialism would in good faith help the Chinese people to achieve real independence, peace and democracy.

Guided by the proletarian-internationalist position on the question of the nation, by the proletarian-internationalist program and policy on the national question, the Communists must be the staunchest, most reliable and effective leaders of the movement for the national liberation and independence of all oppressed peoples. They must be the most determined defenders of the interests of their own people and aid in every possible way the liberation movement of all oppressed peoples the world over. Obviously, they cannot pursue a policy of aggression against any other people or of oppression of the national minorities within their own country.

There is not the slightest basis for such demagogic and slanderous allegations of the imperialists as: "Inasmuch as the Communists are internationalists, they cannot lead movements for national liberation and independence, they cannot defend the interests of their people or their country"; "The Soviet Union is guilty of Red imperialism"; "The Soviet Union pursues an aggressive policy toward China, Korea, and other countries"; "The Soviet Union carries on an expansionist policy"; etc.

Only the Communists and the world proletariat, only the Soviet Union and the New Democracies, are the true and reliable friends of all oppressed nations fighting for their liberation and national independence. The aid of the Soviet Union, of the world proletariat and of the Communists is the most important condition for the victory of all nations in fighting for liberation from imperialist oppression, for national independence.

Mistrust and unfriendliness toward the Soviet Union and the New Democracies which the Tito-ites are seeking to inculcate among the people of Yugoslavia, advancing the "argument" that the "capitalist countries are less dangerous to Yugoslavia than the Soviet Union" can only bring harm to Yugoslavia.

To declare as the Tito-ites do that the same attitude should be adopted toward the Soviet Union and the New Democracies, led by the Communist Parties, as is adopted in relation to imperialist countries-this is but the outcome of betrayal of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, a betrayal of proletarian internationalism and of switching over to a bourgeois-nationalist position.

Present-Day Division of the World Into Oppressed and Oppressor Nations

Imperialist aggression has divided the nations of the world into two categories - oppressed nations and oppressor nations. After World War I, Lenin described the situation with regard to these two categories as follows: *

A billion and a quarter oppressed in the colonies-countries which are being cut up alive, like Persia, Turkey, and China; and countries which have been vanquished and flung into the position of colonies. Not more than a quarter of a billion inhabit countries which have retained their old positions, but have fallen into economic dependence upon America, and all of them during the war, were in a state of military dependence, for the war affected the whole world and did not permit a single state to remain really neutral. And finally, we have not more than a quarter of a billion inhabitants of countries in which only the upper stratum, of course, only the capitalists, benefited by the partition of the world.

* V. I. Lenin, Selected Works
Vol. X, p. 183.-Ed.

This pictures also the present-day situation with reference to the national question. The imperialists of a few countries mercilessly oppress and plunder the colonial and semi-colonial countries the world over. This is the situation in the sphere of national inter-relationships, which reflect the sharpening of the contradictions in the capitalist world, and the intensification of the uneven development of capitalism in different countries in the epoch of imperialism. This situation inevitably leads to a sharp struggle of the imperialist countries for colonies and simultaneously to an upsurge of the world-wide national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples for freedom from imperialism.

During the latter period of the First World War, the Russian proletariat pierced the imperialist front over one-sixth of the earth's surface and carried out the Great October Socialist Revolution. As a result, the world was divided into two different economic systems. The First World War and the October Revolution led to the general crisis of capitalism. Under the conditions of this general crisis bourgeois nationalism became even more narrow, cruel and aggressive. Fascism in Germany, Italy, Japan and other countries, aiming at enslaving the world, was the product of the most rotten, most reactionary monopoly capital and appeared under conditions of the sharp contradictions inherent in the general crisis of capitalism. During the Second World War, the German-Italian-Japanese fascists were defeated by the international anti-fascist forces, headed by the Soviet Union. With the help of the Soviet Union, the peoples of Eastern Europe established a new democratic order in their countries.

The Communist Parties of the world proved to be the most heroic leaders and staunchest defenders of their motherland during World War II; their prestige among the people is extremely high and they became unprecedentedly powerful; the national revolutionary struggles of the East are sweeping like a forest fire through China, Viet-Nam, Indonesia, Burma, Malaya and other countries. The world situation after World War II underwent a new basic change signifying a new accentuation of the general crisis of capitalism much greater than that which followed World War I.

At present, in place of Hitler and the Japanese warlords, we are faced with American imperialism, which is hatching its vicious plans of domination and enslavement of the peoples of the world and carrying on an expansionist policy throughout the world. Needless to say, this is another offspring of the most decayed, most reactionary monopoly capital in the period of a new accentuation of the general crisis of capitalism.

The principal features of the global map after World War II may be depicted as follows:

On one side, - the Socialist Soviet Union, leader of all the peoples of the world in the struggle against imperialism and fascism, the country which, after defeating the fascist Axis, continues to advance toward ever-greater prosperity, the country which leads the struggle for universal peace, in defense of democracy and independence of all peoples (its population totalling almost 200 million people).

Next, the long-liberated Mongolian People's Republic (population-1,000,000) Then, the countries of People's Democracy in Southeastern Europe with a total population of 85 million, which since their liberation from German and Italian fascist slavery are marching toward Socialism under the leadership of their Communist Parties. However, in one of these countries, Yugoslavia, the Tito clique has committed treason to the proletariat, which is now waging a struggle against these renegades.

Next we have liberated Northern Korea and Eastern Germany, with a population of approximately 30 million. Besides these, there are the peoples who are still directly engaged in the struggle against foreign imperialism and against the betrayers of their countries. These include the liberated parts of China (with a population of 168 million), which have been completely freed of imperialist oppression and which are carrying on new, democratic construction under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. If we add to these the already liberated parts of the population of Viet-Nam, Indonesia and other countries, we find that over 500 million people out of the total global population of two billion people have already been liberated from imperialist oppression. These people have attained the position of really independent, free masters of their countries.

Thus, the liberated people exceed one-fourth of the population of the globe. This signifies a regeneration of the world and bears testimony to the scope and level that mankind has already attained in its struggle for emancipation. There can be no doubt that this number will steadily grow. The day is not far off when all mankind will be freed from imperialist domination. Whatever the zigzags that may occur in the process of this struggle, the general course of development is inevitable toward liberation as an irresistible law of history.

In China, the perspective of the complete liberation of its 475 million population is especially clear, in view of the series of victories by the great Army of Liberation.

This is one side of the situation.

On the other hand, with the defeat of the fascist Axis, three of the six greatest imperialist powers have been smashed, namely Germany, Italy and Japan.

At the present time, the imperialist powers possessing colonies (differing in magnitude and number) comprise the United States, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal and others. The number of the imperialist powers has decreased. But we have now the unprecedented situation of a single imperialist power, the country of American imperialism, subjecting the peoples of the world. Even such countries as Great Britain and France, not to mention the Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal, have been weakened as a result of the enormous losses inflicted by the war. It is true, the reactionaries of these countries continue to use sanguinary, violent means to suppress the liberation movement of the colonial peoples. Nevertheless, since the bourgeoisie of these countries have sold out their own nations, and also as a result of the policy of the Right wing of the Social-Democratic parties and the British Labor Party, these countries have become dependent nations, protectorates under the aegis of American imperialism.

Thus, while on one side we have 500 million people already liberated, 1,300 million people throughout the world (exclusive of the United States) find themselves directly or indirectly under the domination of American imperialism; and the reactionaries in Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and other countries have in effect become traitors to their nations and junior partners of American imperialism. The 140 million Americans carry on their backs eight outstanding finance groups, those of Morgan, Rockefeller, duPont, Mellon, etc., and a handful of their reactionary representatives (in all only about a thousand people). These eight major finance groups with their representatives, on the one hand, rule the 140 million American citizens within their country, and, on the other hand, directly or indirectly enslave all the nations of the world, except for the Soviet Union and the other liberated peoples. The domination of the eight big American finance groups directly or indirectly extends to almost three-quarters of the population of the globe (including the American people), that is, to more

than 1,400 million people. On top of this, the American reactionaries are mapping fantastic plans for imposing their system of imperialist enslavement on the Soviet Union and the other liberated countries.

This is the present-day situation with reference to the national question on a world scale.

The Two Great Camps and the Path of the National Liberation Movement

As indicated above, the national question in the present-day world is in essence tantamount to the issue of the exploitation and oppression of the nations the world over by American imperialism versus the resistance of the nations throughout the world to that exploitation and oppression and the struggle for national liberation and in defense of national independence.

Even during World War II, the American imperialists made their plans for plundering and oppressing the nations of the whole world. After the war, they put into operation the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, bringing, step by step, many of the world's nations under their control and rule, preparing a network of military bases throughout the world and interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries. All these aggressive plans - just as was the case with Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese warlords - are being carried out under the slogan of "defense against the Soviet Union, defense against Communism."

The American imperialists are exerting all their forces to mobilize the people of their own country in support of their plans, they are suppressing all forces among the people of their own country who oppose their plans. They are cultivating the myth of the "American Century," the "theory" of the "superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race," declaring that Americans should "lead the world," and that all the nations of the world should be under their rule. They are persecuting the Communist Party of the United States, the progressive trade unions, the progressive movement under the leadership of Henry Wallace and are in the process of establishing fascist-like rule in America. In attempting to realize their plans of world domination, the American imperialists are opposing the U.S.S.R., the People's Democracies, the Communist Party of China and the liberation movement of the Chinese people, the national liberation movements of Greece, Viet-Nam, Indonesia, Malaya, Burma and the Philippines; they are opposing the Communist Parties and the peoples democratic forces of all countries.

Therefore, when the Tito-ites take up an anti-Soviet position, leave the Communist Information Bureau and, within their own country, destroy the vital forces of real progress, the American imperialists display uncontrollable glee.

In their preparations to unleash a third world war, the American imperialists must search for stooges and agents in the various countries who will carry out their behests. They seek out national renegades and traitors and give them their backing in suppressing the resistance movements of the peoples of these countries and in opposing the Soviet Union. American imperialism helps the reactionaries of all countries and supports the revival of the remnants of fascism in Germany, Italy, Japan and other countries. Every where the reactionary parties and groups of the bourgeoisie of these countries and the remnants of fascism have become the agents and stooges of American imperialism, suppressing, with American aid, the resistance movements of the peoples of their won countries and of the colonial countries and opposing the Soviet Union and the democratic forces of the peoples of all countries.

However, precisely because American imperialism seeks to enslave the world, and because the reactionaries of the European countries are betraying their nations, the national question has become a vital issue for even a greater part of the population than after World War I. The anti-imperialist front of the national liberation movement has become even wider. While the number of imperialist countries has been reduced, while they have become more isolated, and the base of imperialism is becoming ever more and more unstable and its strength has been greatly weakened and continues to weaken - the oppressed are rising on a ever-broader scale to fight against imperialism, bringing ever nearer the end of imperialist domination.

The class enemies of the proletariat of the capitalist countries are at the same time the national betrayers of these countries. To win socialism, the proletariat of these capitalist countries must oppose both enslavement by American imperialism and the national traitors of their own countries. The class question and the national question are linked together. This enables the proletariat of the countries of Europe to unite still broader masses of people within their countries and link up the defense of their national independence with the cause of achieving Socialism, and, on the other hand, to unite broader masses of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, linking up the national liberation movements of the colonies and semi-colonies with their own cause of achieving Socialism.

The schemes of American imperialism to enslave the world and the betrayal of their own nations by the reactionaries of the European countries reflect the process of the general crisis of world capitalism, the extreme accentuation of the various contradictions of capitalism. They reflect the fact that American imperialism and the imperialists of other countries who plan a mad and deadly struggle are sitting on a volcano which threatens new severe crises. The plans of the American imperialists accelerate even more the development of the general crisis of capitalism, accentuating the basic contradictions of the capitalist world: the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the various capitalist countries fighting for markets and colonies, and between imperialism and the oppressed peoples. The vast majority of the peoples of the world are strengthening their unity on a world scale in the struggle for their liberation, while the schemes of American imperialism seeking to dominate the world hasten the doom of imperialism.

As we have seen, the world today is divided into two mutually antagonistic camps. These two camps include the peoples of the world, all countries, classes, sections of the population, parties and groups. When these two camps are in sharp conflict, people line up with one or the other side.

That is, if one is not in the imperialist camp, if one is not assisting American imperialism and its helpers to enslave the world or one's own country, then one must be in the anti-imperialist camp, assisting all oppressed peoples of the world to achieve liberation; then one must fight for the liberation of one's own country and resist American imperialism and its helpers in other countries. Neutrality, sitting on the fence, is impossible.

As pointed out by Mao Tse-tung in his New Democracy, so-called neutrality is nothing but deception, intentional or otherwise.

To win their liberation, all the oppressed nations can only oppose American Imperialism and its accomplices within their countries, can only unite with the Soviet Union and the New Democracies of Europe, unite with the national liberation movement and peoples' democratic forces of other countries, unite with the proletariat and the Communist Parties - that is to say, they must line up in the anti-imperialist camp which is waging a stubborn struggle against American imperialism. No nation can win real liberation any other way . . .

Marxist-Leninist View of Bourgeois Nationalism

Marxism-Leninism considers all questions in their historical aspects. Marx view bourgeois nationalism under the given historical conditions, weigh its differing objective roles and adopt different attitudes to bourgeois nationalism in different historical epochs.

In the early period of capitalism, the national movement, led by the bourgeoisie, had as its objective a struggle against oppression by other nations and the creation of a national state. The national movement was historically progressive, and the proletariat supported it.

In the present period, such bourgeois nationalism exists in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. This variety of bourgeois nationalism also has a certain objective progressive historical significance.

The bourgeoisie of Europe, the United States and Japan has established in many backward countries the imperialist system of colonial and semi-colonial oppression. In these colonial and semi-colonial countries - China, India, Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines, Indo-China, Burma, Egypt, etc.-there was an inevitable development of bourgeois nationalism. Since the national bourgeoisie of these countries has interests antagonistic to those of imperialism and also to those of the internal reactionary feudal forces, and since the feudal forces unite with imperialism for the purpose of harming and restricting the development of the national bourgeoisie, the latter is in a certain historical period to some degree revolutionary. The nationalism of the bourgeoisie in these countries has definite progressive significance when the bourgeoisie mobilizes the masses of the people in the struggle against imperialism and the forces of feudalism. As Lenin pointed out, nationalism of this type "has historical justification." Therefore the proletariat, with the view of overthrowing the rule of imperialism and the feudal forces, should support this bourgeois nationalism which plays a definitely anti-imperialist and anti-feudal role; provided, as Lenin said, that these allies do not hinder us in educating and organizing the peasantry and the broad masses of the exploited people in a revolutionary spirit. The clearest example of such collaboration is that which existed between us Chinese Communists, and Sun Yat-sen... This collaboration was absolutely correct and necessary for national liberation and was in accord with the interests of the proletariat at the time, even though the collaboration was temporary, unreliable, and unstable, and was later undermined by the shameless betrayers of the cause of Sun Yat-sen.

Although Sun Yat-sen's outlook was even then still of a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois character, and his nationalism was still a variety of bourgeois nationalism and even preserved some reactionary characteristics (for instance, the concepts of a "dominant race within the country," of a "Greater Asia," etc.), nevertheless he fostered the doctrine of a national revolution, of "arousing the people and uniting for a common struggle with all the nations in the world who regard us as equals." He also carried into effect the three great principles of unity with the U.S.S.R. and with the Communist Party, and of extending support to the workers and peasants. This was a manifestation of the highly progressive character of the nationalism of the revolutionary bourgeoisie of the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the new period - the period of the world socialist revolution. It was of enormous revolutionary significance.

However, shortly after Sun Yat-sen's death, the brazen betrayers of his cause - the representatives of the big bourgeoisie, Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei and other reactionary leaders of the Kuomintang - began to divert the national-revolutionary doctrines of Sun Yat-sen in a counter-revolutionary direction. They turned from the anti-imperialist struggle to capitulation to imperialism, from alliance with the Soviet Union to a struggle against it, from unity with the Communist

Party to fighting the Party, from supporting the workers and peasants to suppressing them. Moreover, they used the conservative and reactionary features of Sun Yat-sen's nationalism as their anti-national banner. It therefore became necessary for the Communist Party, in order to defend the national interests, to launch a firm policy of opposition to the Kuomintang reactionaries, headed by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei. Of course, the Communists in the other colonial and semi-colonial countries, in India, Burma, Siam, the Philippines, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Southern Korea, etc., must similarly for the sake of the interests of their country, adopt firm, irreconcilable positions toward national betrayal by the reactionary part of the bourgeoisie, principally the reactionary big bourgeoisie, which has already surrendered to imperialism. Otherwise the Communists of these countries will be guilty of committing a grave error.

On the other hand, the Communists should establish anti-imperialist collaboration with that national bourgeoisie which is still opposing imperialism and does not oppose the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses of the people. Should the Communists fail to establish such collaboration in earnest, but on the contrary, oppose and reject collaboration, in that case, too, they would commit a grave error. Such collaboration must be established, even if it should be of an unreliable temporary and unstable character.

The experience of the revolution in various countries, in particular the experience of the Chinese revolution, fully confirms the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist scientific analysis, which shows that the national question is closely linked with the class question, and the national struggle with the class struggle. An historical analysis of the class relations reveals why in certain periods one country is oppressed by another and becomes a colony or semi-colony of imperialism; why national traitors may appear in such a country not only from the ranks of the feudal classes, but from the ranks of a part of the bourgeoisie as well - for instance, from the ranks of the compradore bourgeoisie in China. It also reveals under what conditions and under the leadership of which class national liberation can be achieved.

An historical analysis of the class relations also shows the following: although such outstanding national revolutionists as Sun Yat-sen in China sprang from the petty bourgeoisie or national bourgeoisie, nevertheless the bourgeoisie of that country, generally speaking, views the national question solely in the light of its own narrow class interests and changes its position solely in accordance with its own class interests. Only the class interests of the Chinese proletariat are really in full accord with the fundamental interests of the people of that country and accord fully with the common interests of all nations the world over, with the interests of all mankind. When the proletariat of an oppressed country, as is the case in China, enters the arena of struggle and becomes the leader of the national liberation struggle against imperialism and the savior of the whole nation, then every genuinely patriotic social group, party, league or individual inevitably comes to collaborate with the Communist Party, as did Sun Yat-sen, who took the position of uniting with the Soviet Union and who supported the interests of the workers and peasants. Those, on the other hand - like Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei - who actively oppose the Communist Party (an opposition which is linked with opposition to the Soviet Union and fighting the interests of the workers and peasants), inevitably becomes servile lackeys of imperialism and contemptible traitors to the nation; they sell out their own country.

An historical analysis of the class relations shows further that in the new conditions, in the new period of accentuated international and internal struggle, as a result of threats combined with all kinds of baits of the imperialists, and owing to the developing struggle within the country, there may appear in the revolutionary ranks such people as Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Chang Kuo-t'ao in China or Tito in Yugoslavia. These people capitulate to reactionary bourgeois nationalism,

betray the common interests of the toilers of all countries and place in serious jeopardy the liberation of the people of their own country. They are representatives of bourgeois nationalism in the ranks of the proletariat, readily deserting the national liberation struggle when it is reaching a climax and propelling the country onto the path of transformation into a colony of imperialism. The Communist parties of all countries and each Communist individually must be alert to this danger.

Conclusion

Genuine patriotism is intimately linked with internationalism. All of the above expresses the point of view and the principles of the Marxists-Leninists, the Communists, on the national question. It is the point of view and principles of proletarian internationalism, indissolubly connected with patriotism.

It is clear that the genuine patriotism of the masses of the people in all countries is not in contradiction to proletarian internationalism, but is, rather, intimately connected with it. Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote during the period of the anti-Japanese war: "For us patriotism is intimately connected with internationalism. Our slogan is - struggle against aggression, in defense of our fatherland." "Patriotism is the application of internationalism in the national-revolutionary war. Needless to say, these statements fully accord with our present revolutionary war."

Lenin evaluated patriotism as one of the most profound manifestations of the sentiments of countries in the process of consolidation after they had been split up in the course of many centuries or over thousands of years.

Genuine patriotism is devoted love of one's country, one's people, language, culture, literature, and of the best traditions of one's nation developed in the course of thousands of years. This kind of patriotism is completely at variance with present-day selfish, anti-foreign, bourgeois nationalism, as well as with the narrow policy of the closed door, of isolationism and other nationalist prejudices of the small peasant, reflecting the patriarchal system.

Genuine patriotism respects the equality of other nationalities and at the same time cherishes the hope of realizing the best ideals of mankind in one's own country and defends the unity of the peoples of all countries. On the other hand, reactionary bourgeois nationalism fosters mutual hatred and hostility between nations, while the national prejudices of the old patriarchal system isolate the own nationality from the rest of the world, sinking within the narrow confines of their own stagnating outlook. We must resolutely reject both of these positions.

The foregoing clarifies in a general way the difference between proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism. At present, both within and outside our Party, there is considerable lack of understanding in regard to proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism. Moreover, the fascist elements are carrying on reactionary and demagogic propaganda on this question. Failure to liquidate this lack of understanding, this confusion, and to expose this fascist propaganda, will result in a great harm to the present liberation movement of the Chinese people. This article is published in the hope that it will help to do away with the misunderstandings and to expose the fascist propaganda. —November 1948

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DISTRIBUTOR'S NOTE

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy publishes this article by Liu Shao-Chi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Communist Party of China, as an important document to the understanding of current developments in China. The Committee believes that it deserves the careful study of all serious students of contemporary China whether or not they sympathize with the views expressed.

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